

CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSIAN DOMINIONS IN NORTHERN INDIA DOWN TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

THE connexions between Persia and India date back to the gray dawn of the period of Indo-Irānian unity, when the Āryan ancestors of the Hindus and Persians still formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock. Though the separation of these two kindred peoples, through their migrating into the respective countries they have occupied in historic times, must have taken place more than three thousand years ago, nevertheless there long remained a certain community of interest, which had a bearing upon the early history of the north of India, where Persian influence, and even dominion, was strongest. The aim of the present chapter, therefore, is to bring out the main points of contact between the two nations from the earliest times and to indicate the effect of the sway exercised by Persia in Northern, or rather North-western, India prior to the invasion of Alexander the Great and the fall of the Achaemenian Empire of Irān in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

To begin the sketch with the most remote ages, it may be assumed that every student is familiar with the evidence that proves the historic relationship between the Hindus and the Persians through ties of common Āryan blood, close kinship in language and tradition, and through near affinities in the matter of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners, and customs.

An illustration or two may be chosen from the domain of religion alone. The Veda and the Avesta, which are the earliest literary monuments of India and Persia, contain sufficient evidence of the fact of such connexion, even though each of these works may date from times long after the period of Indo-Irānian separation. A certain relationship, for example, is acknowledged to exist between the Vedic divinity Varuṇa and the Avestan deity Ahura Mazda, or Ormazd, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism. Equally well known are the points of kinship between the Indian Mitra and the Irānian Mithra, and, in less degree, between the victorious

Indra Vṛitrahan of the Rigveda and the all-triumphant Vere-thraghna of the Avestan Yashts. Nor need more than mention be made of the parallels between Yama and Yima or of the cognate use made by the Indians and the Persians of the sacred drink *soma* and *haoma* in their religious rites. Scores more of likenesses and similarities might be adduced to prove the long-established connexion between India and Irān, but they are generally familiar¹.

Additional evidence, however, has comparatively recently been furnished by certain cuneiform tablets which the German professor Hugo Winckler discovered, in 1907, at Boghaz-köi in North-eastern Asia Minor. These documents give, in their own special language, a record of treaties between the kings of Mitāni and of the Hittites about 1400 B.C. Among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia, whatever the relation may be. The names involved in the tablets are Mi-it-ra, U-ru-w-na, In-da-ra, and Na-ša-at-ti-ia, corresponding respectively to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatyā (the latter regularly a dual in the Veda, and representing the two Aṇvins) in the Indian pantheon. They answer likewise in due order to the Persian Mithra and to those elements common between the Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda and the Vedic Varuṇa, as explained above; but on the other hand Avestan Indra and Nāonhaithya (a singular in Av., Vd. x, 9; XIX, 43) appear as demons in the Zoroastrian scriptures. It is not the place here to enter into a discussion of the question as to whether the supernatural beings thus mentioned in the Boghaz-köi clay tablets are to be interpreted as being 'proto-Irānian,' 'Vedic,' 'Āryan,' or even 'Mitānian' alone, because the matter is still open to debate by scholars. It is sufficient to draw attention to the general bearings of such a discovery upon the subject of relationship between India and Persia, however direct or indirect the connexion may be².

¹ A convenient summary of these now familiar facts will be found in F. Spiegel, *Die arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1887. Throughout the present chapter the terms 'Irān' and 'Irānians' are to be taken broadly, so as to comprehend Persia and its people in the widest significance—whether Medes, Persians, or Bactrians—as forming a special division of the Indo-Irānian branch of the great Indo-European, or Indo-Germanic, stock. The designation 'Āryan' should really be restricted (as is done by scholars) to the common bond represented historically by the Hindus and the Persians.

² This valuable find of the tablets by Winckler (who died April 19, 1913) was first reported in his *Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghaz-köi im Sommer 1907*, in *Mittheilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, No. 35 (1908). The importance of the discovery was at once recognised by scholars and has since received wide attention; compare, for example, Eduard Meyer, *Zt. für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Neue Folge* (1908), XLII, 1-27; idem, *Sitzb. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1908, pp. 14-19; also H. G. Jacobi, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 721-726; H. Oldenburg, *ibid.* pp. 1095-1100;

The geographical connexion between India and Persia historically was a matter of fact that must have been known to both countries in antiquity through the contiguity of their territorial situation. The realms which correspond to-day to the buffer states of Afghānistān and Baluchistān formed always a point of contact and were concerned in antiquity with Persia's advances into Northern and North-western India as well as, in a far less degree, with any move of aggrandisement on the part of Hindustān in the direction of Irān¹. Evidence from the Veda and the Avesta alike attests the general fact.

Vedic scholars, for example, will agree with Avestan students that the partly common Indo-Irānian domains comprised in the river-system above the Indus basin, and verging toward the north-western border adjacent to Irān, are referred to in the Rīgveda in certain allusions to the district indicated by the rivers Kubhā (Kābul), Krumu (Kurram), and Gomatī (Gumal). They will equally unite in emphasising the fact that there are other incidental allusions in the Veda, such as those to Gandhāra and Gandhāri, which may certainly be interpreted as referring to the districts of Peshāwar and Rāwālpindi S.E. from Kābul². A part of these districts has belonged rather to Irān than to India in historic times, but it is equally impossible to deny or to minimise the rôle they have played in India's development ever since the remote age when the tribal ancestors of the present Hindus occupied them on their way into their later established home³. For the earliest period, we

A. B. Keith, *ibid.* pp. 1100-1106; A. H. Sayce, *ibid.* pp. 1106-1107; J. Kennedy, *ibid.* pp. 1107-1119; H. G. Jacobi, *ibid.* 1910, pp. 456-464; A. B. Keith, *ibid.* pp. 464-466; H. Oldenburg, *ibid.* pp. 846-850; see also M. Winternitz, *Globus* (1909), xcv, 126; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. viii; and most recently J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 5-7, 45, 139, 235; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 3rd ed., vol. I, pt 2, §§ 455, 585, 590.

¹ Arrian, *Indica*, 9, 12, for example, may be cited in support of this statement; for he avers, on Indian authority, that 'a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.' The assertion certainly seems true for the earliest times.

² For references to passages in the texts and for bibliographical allusions consult Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, 162 (Kubhā), 199 (Krumu), 238 (Gomatī), and 218-219 (Gandhāra, Gandhāri). In regard to the territory to be located by the Vedic river Sarasvatī, the present tendency among Sanskrit specialists (most recently, for example, Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.* II, 434-437) is to confine it to India itself and not to follow the suggestions that have been made, on etymological grounds, to connect the region thus watered by the Sarasvatī directly with the region around the Irānian river Harahvaitī of the Avesta, or Hara(h)uvatī of the Old Persian Inscriptions, as a designation of the ancient land of Arachosia.

³ The student of history, with an eye to the significance of territorial location, will at once recall the part played in after ages by Kābul as a strategic centre, and as the doorway into India from the north, in the annals of Hindustān.

may well agree with the opinion expressed by Eduard Meyer in an encyclopaedia article on Persia: 'The dividing line between Iranian and Indian is drawn by the Hindu-Kush and the Soliman mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (*Cophen*) is already occupied by Indian tribes, especially the Gandarians; and the Satagydae (Pers. *Thatagu*) there resident were presumably also of Indian stock'¹. These facts, because of their importance in regard to this bridge between India and Irān, will be touched upon again below (pp. 338-9).

Regarding the interpretation of certain other references in the Rigveda as containing allusions, direct or implied, to Persia in a broader sense, there is a wide divergence of opinion among Sanskritists, even though the Irānian investigator may feel assured of the truth of so explaining such passages. Vedic specialists are at variance, for example, as to whether an allusion to the Pārthavas in Rv. vi, 27, 8, is to be understood as a reference to the ancestors of the Parthians, and as to whether the Persians are really referred to under the designation Parçavas (e.g. Rv. x, 33, 2), especially as the difficulty is increased by the uncertainty in determining the real significance historically of the names Prithu and Parçu from which the terms Pārthavas and Parçavas are derived. The name Balhika (Atharvaveda, v, 22, 5, 7, 9) has been interpreted by some Indic scholars as containing an allusion to the ancient Irānian tribe of the Bactrians, especially because it is mentioned in connexion with the Mūjavants, a northern people; but other specialists oppose this view and deny an appeal to certain other Vedic words that might be cited. Nevertheless, and in spite of the differences among Sanskrit authorities, there is more than one Irānian investigator who feels positive that some at least of the Rigveda references in question allude to Persia or to Persian connexions in by-gone days. The assumption may reasonably be made that scholarship in the future will tend to prove the correctness of the attempts (wide of the mark though some of them may have been in the past) to show through the Veda the continuity of contact between India and Persia during the period under consideration².

From the Irānian side, if we may judge by the sources available,

¹ *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., xxi, 203, art. 'Persia.'

² For complete references to the Vedic passages involved in the discussion, including full bibliographical citations, see Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.* i, 29 (Abhyāvartin), 347-9 (Dasyu), 450 (Ninditācva), and especially 504-5 (Parçu), 521-2 (Pārthava); ii, 63 (1. Balhika). Macdonell and Keith join with those Sanskrit scholars who oppose the attempt to find any allusions to Irān in the Veda. The extravagant endeavours of

the evidence seems to be much stronger in favour of Persian influence upon India and modifying control over the northern part of the country than it is for a reverse influence of India upon Irān. Throughout ancient history, as indicated above (p. 321), Persia was the more aggressive power of the two. Yet it is uncertain how far the sphere of Irānian knowledge and authority in India may have extended prior to the time of the Achaemenian Empire, at which era our information takes on a more definite form. At no time, however, does the realm of Persian activity in this direction appear to have extended much beyond the limit of the Indus.

As already intimated, the Avesta is in general the oldest source showing Persia's interest in India, although the greatest uncertainty still prevails among specialists in regard to assigning any precise date or dates. The present writer shares the opinion of those scholars who believe that, however late may be some of its portions, the Avesta in the main is pre-Achaemenian in content; in other words, even though it is possible to recognise Achaemenian, Parthian, and, perhaps, Sassanian elements in the collection, the general tenor of the work and the material on which it is based represent a period antedating the fifth century B.C., or the era when the Persian Empire reached its height¹. For that reason (and with due emphasis on the broad latitude that is to be allowed in the matter of dates) it is appropriate to cite the Avestan

Brunnhöfer, *Urgeschichte der Arier*, 3 vols, Leipzig, 1893, to identify every remote Vedic term that had a possible geographical content as an Irānian allusion are bizarre in the extreme, even though there are grains of truth in the author's views when he touches more conservatively on the domain bordering between India and Irān. The writer of the present chapter sympathises strongly with certain of the pleas made by the Vedic scholars Ludwig, Hillebrandt, and Weber to recognise Persian allusions in the Rīgveda; the titles of the special articles on the subject by these scholars are duly cited by Macdonell and Keith in the pages of their *Vedic Index*, referred to above. It seems, for example, that some Avestan student may yet make more use than has been done of the material collected by E. W. Hopkins, *Prāgāthikāni*, 1, in *J.A.O.S.* 1896, xvii, 84-92.

¹ For a convenient presentation of the various views regarding the date of Zoroaster and the age of the Avestan Gāthās, as well as concerning the relative antiquity of other portions of the sacred canon, see J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913. Dr Moulton summarises his opinion as follows, on p. viii: 'The traditional date [of Zoroaster] (660-583 B.C.) is a minimum, but there are strong reasons for placing Zarathushtra and his Gāthas some generations earlier still. The Yashts may be placed in the later Achaemenian age, and the prose Avesta, in particular the ritual of the Vendidad, probably after Alexander.' He elaborates this view further on pp. 8-22, 78, 87, 103, 198, 204, 240. It is important throughout to bear in mind the fact that the *material* may sometimes be very old even though the *form* is late, and that different chapters as well as sections of the Yashts, Vendidad, and Yasna may vary considerably in age.

references to India, or the region of the Indian frontier, directly after the possible allusions to Persia in the Veda already given.

The name for India in the Avesta is Hindu, which, like the Old Persian Hi(n)du, is derived from the river Indus, Sanskrit Sindhu,—the designation of the stream being transferred to the territory adjacent to it and to its tributaries. The first chapter of the Avestan Vendidad (whatever may be the age of the chapter) contains an allusion to a portion of Northern India in a list which it gives of sixteen lands or regions, created by Ahura Mazda and apparently regarded as under Irānian sway¹. The fifteenth of these domains, according to Vd. I, 18, was Hapta Hindu, 'Seven Rivers,' a region of 'abnormal heat,' probably identical with the territory of Sapta Sindhavas, 'Seven Rivers,' in the Veda (see especially Rv. VIII, 24, 27)². The district in question, which was more comprehensive than the modern Punjab, or 'Five Rivers,' must have included the lands watered in the north and north-west of Hindustān by the river Indus and its affluents—answering, apparently, to the Vedic Vitastā (now Jhelum), Asiknī (Chenāb), Parushnī (later named Irāvati, whence its present designation Rāvi), Vipāç (Beās), and Çutudrī (Sutlej), the latter being the easternmost stream³.

In connexion with this Avestan passage (Vd. I, 18), moreover, in its bearing on Persian domains in Northern India, it is worth while to call attention to the Pahlavi gloss of the Middle Persian rendering of the paragraph in Sassanian times. Whatever may be the full import of this difficult gloss, the passage may be literally translated as follows: 'The Seven Hindukān; the expression "Seven Hindukān" is due to this fact, that the over-lordship (*sar-xūtāi*) is seven; and therefore I do not say "Seven Rivers," for that is manifest from the Avesta [passage] "From the Eastern

¹ One might be inclined (as the writer has been led, especially through a study of the Pahlavi commentary and other Sassanian sources) to regard Vd. I, though late in form, as containing older material that might antedate in substance the division which Darius made of his empire into twenty satrapies; but Darmesteter warns against the attempts that have been made to discover much antique history in the chapter. His rather strong statement (*Vendidad Translated*, 2nd ed., S.B.E. iv, 1) is: 'We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, seen from the religious point of view.'

² See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1814; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, 424; Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* xvi, 278; xvii, 86-88.

³ Cf. Spiegel, *Die arische Periode*, pp. 112-118; Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 140; see also above, p. 321, n. 2 (on the question of Sarasvatī=Harah-vatī).

Indus (or, India) to the Western Indus (India)"¹. In partial support of the scholiast's interpretation as 'the over-lordship is seven' it has been further pointed out that a tradition as to the dominions involved may have lingered down to Firdausi's time, inasmuch as he mentions in one passage seven princes of India, namely the lords of Kābul, Sindh, Hindh, Sandal, Chandāl, Kashmīr, and Multān ; but too much stress need not be laid on the point².

The Avestan fragment above cited from the gloss to Vd. I, 18—'from the Eastern Indus (India) to the Western Indus (India)'—is best interpreted as alluding to the extreme ends of the Irānian world ; for Spiegel has clearly shown by sufficient references that, at least in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east³. This is borne out by a passage in Yasht x, 104, in which the divine power of Mithra, the personification of the sun, light, and truth, is extolled as destroying his adversaries in every quarter. The passage (Yt. x, 104), which is metrical and therefore relatively old, runs thus : 'The long arms of Mithra seize upon those who deceive Mithra ; even when in Eastern India he catches him, even when in Western [India] he smites him down ; even when he is at the mouth of the Ranhā (river), [and] even when he is in the middle of the earth⁴.' The same statement is repeated in part in Yasna LVII, 29, regarding the power of Sraosha, the guardian genius of mankind, as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to the extreme west : 'even when in Eastern India he catches [his adversary], even when in Western [India] he smites him down.'

There is still another Avestan allusion which may possibly be interpreted as referring in a general way to Indian connexions ; it

¹ For the Pahlavi text of the passage, and especially the variant readings, see the edition by D. D. P. Sanjana, *The Pahlavi Vendidad*, p. 9, Bombay, 1895 ; and the earlier edition by F. Spiegel, *Avesta sammt der Huzvāresch-Übersetzung*, vol. I, pt 2, p. 7, Leipzig, 1851.

² The passage, Firdausi, *Shāhnāmah*, ed. Macan, p. 1579, was pointed out by W. Geiger, *Die pehleviversion des ersten Capitels des Vendidad* (1887), p. 62, and likewise by Spiegel, *Die arische Periode*, p. 117.

³ Spiegel, *op. cit.* p. 118. Compare also the remarks made below, p. 340, n. 3, on Esther, I, 1.

⁴ The Av. word *niyne*, here translated 'smites down,' is best so taken as a verbal form ; so also by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* coll. 492, 1814, followed by F. Wolff, *Avesta übersetzt*, pp. 79, 214. J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, I, 366, also n. 52 (and cf. II, 469) has 'il abat à la rivière du Couchant.' Others have taken *niyne* as a loc. sg. ; thus F. Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache* (1864), p. 171, renders 'im westlichen Niniveh' ; F. Spiegel, *Die ar. Per.* p. 119, 'im westlichen Nighna' (i.e. the Nile). Opposed to the explanation as a proper name is C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit* (1881), p. 461, who gives 'dans les profondeurs de l'occident,' with a footnote 'dans l'enfoncement nocturne' ; cf. also *ibid.* p. 377, n. 4.

is the mention, in Yt. VIII, 32, of a mountain called Us-Hindava, which stands in the midst of the partly mythical sea Vouru-kasha and is the gathering place of fog and clouds. The name Us-Hindava means 'Beyond (or, Above) India,' according to one way of translating; but another rendering makes it simply 'the mountain from which the rivers rise.' Owing to this uncertainty, and to a general vagueness in three passages in which the mountain is referred to as Usind and Usindam in the Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, texts of Sassanian times (Bündahishn, XII, 6; XIII, 5; Zātsparam, XXII, 3), it seems wiser for the present to postpone an attempt to decide whether the allusion is to the Hindu Kush or possibly the Himālaya, or even some other range¹.

Precisely as was noted above (p. 321), in considering the Vedic material as sources for the historian's review of the distant past, there are likewise a number of Avestan names of places located south of the Hindu Kush in the territory that once at least was common in part to the Indians and the Irānians and has had, as a natural borderland, an important influence upon India's history in later ages. A portion of these domains corresponds to a considerable section of Afghānistān and possibly to a part of Baluchistān, realms now under direct British influence or included politically as a part of the Indian Empire. One of the proofs of this community of interest is the fact that the territory of Arachosia (Av. Harahvaitī, O.P. Hara(h)uvatī), which corresponds to the modern province of Kandahār, was known, at least in later Parthian times, as 'White India' (Ἰνδικὴ Λευκή). This we have on the authority of the geographer Isidor of Charax (first cent. A.D.), who, when mentioning Arachosia as the last in his list of Parthian provinces, adds (*Mans. Parth.* 19), 'the Parthians call it "White India".' As a supplement to this statement, in its historic aspect, may be quoted a pertinent observation made by the French savant

¹ The interpretation as Hindu Kush is given by Geldner, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* II, 38; the rendering of Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* col. 409, is 'jenseits von Indien gelegen'; Darmesteter, *Le Z.-A.* II, 423, n. 70, remarks: 'Le mot *us-hiṇdu* signifie littéralement "d'où se lèvent les rivières." Il est douteux que ce soit une montagne réelle: *Us-hiṇdu* est le représentant de la classe.' For translations of the Pahlavi passages in which Usind, or Usindam, is mentioned, see E. W. West, *S.B.E.* v, 35, 42; XLVII, 160 (and cf. v, 67, n. 3). It may be noted incidentally that an attempt has been made to connect the meteorological phenomena described in the myth of the Tishtar Yasht (Yt. VIII), in which this allusion occurs, with the breaking of the monsoon. See the articles by Mrs E. W. Maunder, *The Zoroastrian Star-Champions*, in *The Observatory*, Nov. and Dec. 1912, March 1913; and the similar view by Mr E. W. Maunder, of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, quoted by Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 25, 26, n. 2, 436-7.

James Darmesteter in touching upon the realms of Kābul and Seistān. He regards the language of Vd. I as indicating that 'Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest¹.'

All of the realms concerned in the next Avestan references to be cited have their historical and political bearing, important for the statesman as well as for the historian of India; and they can be identified with the provinces under the imperial sway of Darius I of Persia, as mentioned in his cuneiform inscriptions. The dominions are equally included in the account of the ancient Persian satrapies given by Herodotus and are comprised in the geographical descriptions of Irān by his successors. For that reason, in the following enumeration, the Old Persian, Greek, and modern designations are recorded in every case together with the Avestan.

To confine attention first to the land that is now Afghānistān, it may be noted that the Hindu Kush range may possibly be referred to in the Avestan allusion to Us-Hindava, mentioned above (p. 326). It is likewise possible to conjecture that the ridge of Band-i-Baiān, somewhat to the west, may perpetuate the old Avestan name Bayana in the list of mountain names enumerated in the Nineteenth Yasht (Yt. XIX, 3); while the chain familiarly known from the classics as Paropanisus or Paropamisus appears to be included under the Avestan designation Upāirisaēna, lit. 'Higher than the eagle'². To the north of these barriers lay Bactria (Av. Bākhdhī, O.P. Bākhtrī, Gk. Βάκτροι, Βακτριανή, Mod. Balkh), a centre which was destined to play an important part in India's history³.

Herāt, on the west, including the district watered by the Hari Rūd, was known in the Avesta as Harōiva (O.P. Haraiva, Gk. Ἀρεία). Kābul, to the east and nearer the present Indian frontier, appears as Vaēkereta (answering to the western part of O.P. Ga(n)dāra,

¹ Darmesteter, *S.B.E.* (2nd ed.), iv, 2; and cf. *Le Z.-A.* II, 13, n. 32, where he bases his statement about the character of the civilisation on Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, II, 79-82, Paris, 1863.

² Cf. El. Bab. *Paruparesanna*, substituted for O.P. *Ga(n)dāra* in these versions of the Bahistān Inscription, I. 16 (6). It is quite possible to see in Av. *iškata* and *pouruta*, Yt. x, 14 (cf. Yt. XIX, 3; Ys. x, 11), the names of two mountain branches of the Hindu Kush and Paropanisus; so, among other scholars, Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs, Text*, p. 31; somewhat differently Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* coll. 376, 900.

³ For references to the passages in which the ancient Irānian names of the provinces occur, consult Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, under each of the separate Avestan or Old Persian names involved.

Gk. Γανδαρίτις, or El. Paruparesanna, and possibly in part to O.P. Thatagu, Gk. Σατταγύδαι¹). The region corresponding to the modern province of Kandahār, as already stated, is represented by Av. Harahvaitī (O.P. Hara(h)uvati, Gk. Ἀραχωσία). In the territory to the south-west, the river Helmand and the lagoon districts of Seistān around the Hāmūn Lake (which the natives call Zirrah, i.e. Av. *Zrayah*, 'sea') are respectively known in the Avesta as the Haētumant and as Zrayah Kāsaoya (cf. O.P. Zra(n)ka or Zara(n)ka, Gk. Ζαράγγοι, Σαράγγοι, or Δαργγίανή); while the river systems that empty into this lagoon depression from the north are mentioned in Yasht XIX, 67, by names that can be identified exactly with their modern designations in almost every case². It is worth noting that the majority of these particular allusions are found in the Nineteenth Yasht, which is devoted to the praise of the 'Kingly Glory' of the ancient line of the Kayanians, heroes who are known to fame also through Firdausī's epic poem, the *Shāhnāmāh*, and from whom some of the families in the regions named still claim to be descended.

With regard to Avestan place names that may be localised in parts of Baluchistān there is more uncertainty. It is thought by some, for example, but denied by others, that Av. Urvā (Vd. I, 10) may thus be a locality near the Indian border³. It might also be possible to suggest that the Avestan name Peshana (Yt. V, 109) may still survive in the Baluchī town Pishīn, near Quetta, but it would be difficult to prove this.

The quotations above given from Avestan sources serve at least to show the interest or share which Persia had traditionally in Northern India and the adjoining realms at a period prior to Achaemenian times, provided we accept the view, already stated (p. 323), that the Avesta represents in the main a spirit and condition that is pre-Achaemenian, however late certain portions of the work may be⁴.

¹ The position of the Sattagydayi is not quite certain; according to Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs, Text*, pp. 27, 256, they are to be located in Ghazni and Ghilzai; but Dames, *Afghānistān*, in *Encyclop. of Islam*, I, 158, places them in the Hazāra country further to the north-west. Other authorities differ; e.g. J. Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Eran*, II, 175.

² See M. A. Stein, *Afghānistān in Avestic Geography*, in *The Academy*, May 16, 1885, pp. 348-349 (also in *Indian Antiquary*, xv, 21-23). Consult also Geiger, *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* II, 388, 392-4. On the possibility of locating the tribal name Av. *Sāma*, cf. Gk. Θαμαναίοι in *Afghānistān*, compare Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* p. 27; Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 144, 176.

³ For references see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* col. 404.

⁴ Lack of space prevents including here certain supplementary allusions to India in early times as found in the Pahlavi literature of the Sassanian era and in such later sources as Firdausī's *Shāhnāmāh*; but they will appear in the *Festschrift Windisch*.

Prior to the seventh century B.C., and for numerous ages afterwards, there is further proof of relations between Persia and India through the facts of trade in antiquity, especially through the early commerce between India and Babylon, which, it is believed, was largely via the Persian Gulf¹. Persia's share in this development, although hard to determine, must have been significant even in days before the Achaemenian Empire. Beginning with the sixth century B.C., however, we enter upon the more solid ground of recorded political history. From unquestioned sources in the classics we know that the Medo-Persian kingdom, which was paramount in Western Asia during that century, was brought into more or less direct contact with India through the campaigns carried on in the east of Irān by Cyrus the Great at some time between 558 and 530 B.C., the limits of his reign. The difficulty, however, of determining exactly when this campaigning occurred and just how the domains between the rivers Indus and Jaxartes came under the control or sphere of influence of the Persian Empire is a problem accounted among the hardest in Irānian history².

In the following paragraphs of discussion, which may be considered as a critical digression, statements or inferences from Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon, with other evidence, have to be compared with those of Strabo and with the seemingly more conservative views of Arrian, in interpreting the question of the possible or probable control of the Indian borderland touching upon Irān.

In the first place, Herodotus says (I, 177) that 'Cyrus in person subjugated the upper regions of Asia³, conquering every nation without passing one by'; but this statement is so broadly comprehensive that it is difficult to particularise regarding North-western India except through indirect corroborative evidence. In fact, most of the allusions by Herodotus to India refer to the times of Darius and Xerxes. It is certain, however, that Cyrus, by his own personally conducted campaigns in the east, brought the major part of Eastern Irān, especially the realms of Bactria, under his sway⁴.

¹ See J. Kennedy, *The Early Commerce of India with Babylon*, 700-300 B.C., in *J.R.A.S.* 1898, pp. 241-288; and cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 28, n., Oxford, 1914; likewise W. H. Schoff, *J.A.O.S.* xxxiii, 352; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 104.

² See Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, I, 224; and compare How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, I, 177 (vol. I, 135), Oxford, 1912.

³ I.e. the regions in the east, more distant from Greece and contrasted with those subdued by Cyrus in Asia Minor through his general Harpagus.

⁴ For the Bactrian and Çaka conquests, see Herodotus, I, 153 compared with I, 177; and consult Ctesias, *Persica*, frags. 33-34 (ed. Gilmore, pp. 127-129). For certain problems raised by the question of the Çakas, see F. W. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 181-216, 460-464.

His conquests included the districts of Drangiāna, Sattagydia, and Gandaritis, verging upon the Indian borderland, though we may omit for the moment the question of the extent of Cyrus's suzerainty over the Indian frontier itself.

In the same connexion may be mentioned the fact that Ctesias, especially in the tenth book of his lost *Persica*, if we may judge from quotations in later authors regarding the nations involved, appears to have given an account of the campaigns by Cyrus in this region¹. The stories, moreover, regarding the death of Cyrus differ considerably²; but the account recorded by Ctesias (fragm. 37, ed. Gilmore), which reflects local Persian tradition, narrates that Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted in battle by 'an Indian,' in an engagement when 'the Indians were fighting on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants.' The Derbikes might therefore be supposed to have been located somewhere near the Indian frontier, but the subject is still open to debate³.

Xenophon, in his romance of the life of Cyrus, entitled *Cyropaedia* (I, 1, 4), declares that Cyrus 'brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians,' as forming a part of his wide-spread empire. In the same work (VIII, 6, 20-21) he furthermore says that Cyrus, after reducing Babylon, 'started on the campaign in which he is reported to have brought into subjection all the nations from Syria to the Erythraean Sea' (i.e. the Indian Ocean); and for that reason he repeats that 'the Erythraean Sea bounded the empire of Cyrus on the east⁴.' This reference, though indefinite, certainly contains a direct allusion to control over the regions bordering on the Indian Ocean; but it would be unwarranted to interpret it as indicating any sovereignty over the mouth of the Indus, such as could be claimed in regard to the Persian sea-route to India in the time of Darius and his successors.

In a general way, however, as possibly supporting the idea of some sort of suzerainty over Northern India by Cyrus, we may note the fact that Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VI, 2, 1-11) introduces an account

¹ See the passages in Gilmore's edition of the *Persica*, pp. 133-135; also G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, iv, 371, n. 22; but cf. Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Iran*, II, 139.

² Consult G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.* iv, 378-380; E. Katz, *Cyrus des Perserkönigs Abstammung, Kriege, und Tod*, Klagenfurt, 1895; Prášek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, I, 236, n. 1.

³ The notices of classical authors regarding this widely distributed people are collected by Tomaschek, art. *Derbikes*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, v, 237-238, Stuttgart, 1905.

⁴ In regard to the term 'Erythraean Sea' as a designation for the Indian Ocean, see W. H. Schoff, *J.A.O.S.* xxxiii, 349-362.

of an embassy sent to Cyrus by an Indian king. This embassy conveyed a sum of money for which the Persian king had asked, and ultimately served him in a delicate matter of espionage before the war against Croesus and the campaigns in Asia Minor. It may be acknowledged that the value of this particular allusion is slight, and that the Cyropaedia is a source of minor importance in this particular regard; but yet it is worth citing as showing, through Xenophon, a common acceptance of the idea that Cyrus was in a position to expect to receive direct consideration, if not vassalage, from the overlord of Northern India.

Descending to the Hellenistic age, when the Greeks began to have knowledge of India at first hand, we find that two of the principal authorities, Nearchus, who was Alexander's admiral, and Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus I at the court of Chandragupta, are at variance regarding an attempted conquest of India by Cyrus.

The account of Nearchus, as preserved by Arrian (*Anab.* vi, 24, 2-3), links the names of Cyrus and of Semiramis, the far-famed Assyrian Queen, and states that Alexander, when planning his march through Gedrosia (Baluchistān), was told by the inhabitants 'that no one had ever before escaped with an army by this route, excepting Semiramis on her flight from India. And she, they said, escaped with only twenty of her army, and Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, in his turn with only seven. For Cyrus also came into these parts with the purpose of invading India, but was prevented through losing the greater part of his army, owing to the desolate and impracticable character of the route¹.'

Megasthenes, on the other hand, as quoted by Strabo (*Geogr.* xv, 1, 6, pp. 686-687 Cas.), declares that 'the Indians had never engaged in foreign warfare, nor had they ever been invaded and conquered by a foreign power, except by Hercules and Dionysus and lately by the Macedonians.' After mentioning several famous conquerors who did not attack India, he continues: 'Semiramis, however, died before [carrying out] her undertaking; and the Persians, although they got mercenary troops from India, namely the Hydrakes², did not make an expedition into that country, but merely approached it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae.'

We may also take Megasthenes to be the authority for the statement of Arrian (*Indica*, ix, 10; and cf. v, 4-7) that, according to the Indians, no one before Alexander, with the exception of

¹ Strabo, *Geogr.* xv, 1, 5, p. 686 Cas. (and cf. xv, 2, 5, p. 722 Cas.), likewise quotes Nearchus, but merely to the effect that Cyrus escaped with seven men.

² I.e. the Oxydrakai or Kshudrakas in the Panjab; see Chapter xv, p. 375.

Dionysus and Hercules, had invaded their country, 'not even Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, although he marched against the Scythians and showed himself in other respects the most enterprising of Asiatic monarchs¹.'

It appears, therefore, that both Nearchus and Megasthenes deny, the former by implication and the latter expressly, that Cyrus ever reached India, although Nearchus regards him as having made an unsuccessful campaign in Baluchistān. We must not, however, overlook the fact that Strabo and Arrian, our proximate sources, consider the river Indus to be the western boundary of India proper; and the foregoing accounts consequently leave open the possibility that Cyrus made conquests in the borderland west of the Indus itself. Indeed, Arrian elsewhere (*Indica*, I, 1-3) expressly states that the Indians between the river Indus and the river Cophēn, or Kābul, 'were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally submitted to the Persians and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute that he imposed on them.'

In regard to the supposed campaign of Cyrus in Baluchistān, we may note that Arrian (*Anab.* III, 27, 4-5) mentions the story, recorded elsewhere in connexion with Alexander's exploits, that Cyrus had received substantial help from the Ariaspian people (a tribe dwelling in a region that corresponds to the modern Seistān) when he was waging war in these territories against the Scythians². This folk received from him in consequence the honorific title *Euergetae*, 'Benefactors,' a term answering to the Persian designation *Orosangae* mentioned by Herodotus (VIII, 85)³.

One further point may be cited from a classical source. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI, 23 (25), credits Cyrus with having destroyed a city called Capisa in Capisene, a place supposed to be represented by Kafshān (Kaoshān, Kushān) in the modern Ghorband valley district, somewhat north of Kābul, and in any case it could not have been far from the Indian frontier⁴.

¹ Cf. also Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, I, 2, 9, who says that no one invaded India except Semiramis and Alexander.

² Arrian, *Anab.* III, 27, 4-5; Strabo, *Geogr.* xv, 2, 10, p. 724 Cas.; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* xvii, 81, 1; Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* vii, 3, 1-3. For a special consideration of this subject, see F. W. Thomas, *Sakastana*, in *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 181-216, 460-464.

³ For the interpretation of this word as 'active in spirit,' cf. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 196.

⁴ See Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 191, n. 1, 460-461, and the works there cited, especially E. J. Rapson, *J.R.A.S.* 1905, pp. 783-784; J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 280-281; and cf. idem, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 180, Leipzig, 1905. Capisa is the Kia-pi-shi of Hiuen Tsiang and the Ki-pin of other Chinese texts. The name is found in

To sum up, we may say that, even if there are just grounds for doubting that Cyrus actually invaded Northern India, there can be no question that he did campaign in the territories corresponding to the present Afghānistān and Baluchistān. It seems likely that Alexander's historians may have been inclined to minimise the accomplishments of Cyrus the Great, especially in the light of his apparent set-back in Gedrosia¹, in order to bring into greater prominence the achievements of the famous Greek invader.

The view above stated, to the effect that Cyrus advanced at least as far as the borders of the Indus region, will be better understood from the ensuing paragraphs, in which the holdings of his successors and their control of regions integral to the Indian Empire of to-day are shown. The main point of this opinion is likewise in agreement with such an authority on the subject as Eduard Meyer, who expressly says: 'Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus (Hindu Kush) and in the Kābul valley, especially the Gandarians; Darius himself advanced as far as the Indus².'

Cambyes, whose activities were almost wholly engaged in the conquest of Egypt, could hardly have extended the Persian dominions in the direction of India, even though he may have been occupied at the beginning of his reign in maintaining suzerainty over the extensive realm inherited from his father. Xenophon, or his continuator (*Cyrop.* VIII, 8, 2), speaks of almost immediate uprisings by subject nations after the death of Cyrus, and these revolutions may have caused the postponement of the Egyptian expedition of Cambyes until the fifth year of his reign, 526-525 B.C.; but it would be hazardous to suggest any direct connexion of India with these presumable campaigns. Herodotus makes two very broad statements; one (III, 88, cf. I, 177) to the effect that, when Darius became king, after the death of Cambyes and the assassination of the false Smerdis, 'all the peoples of Asia, with the exception of the Arabians [who were already allied as friends], were subject to him, inasmuch as they had been subdued

the first element of the compound O.P. Kāpiša-kāni, the name of a stronghold mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius (Bh. 3, 61). Marquart (*Unters.* II, 180), with others, inclines to regard the two places as identical, although objections may be raised that Kāpiša-kāni was located in Arachosia (the El. version, 3, 37, 25 expressly adding 'in Arachosia'). Still much depends on determining the extent of the confines of Arachosia in the time of Darius.

¹ Cf. the passages of Arrian and Strabo cited above, p. 331, and n. 1.

² Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, 97, with note. See also Max Kiessling, *Zur Geschichte der ersten Regierungsjahre des Darius Hystaspis*, in *Quellen u. Forsch. z. alt. Gesch. u. Geogr.* p. 28, hrsg. W. Sieglin, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1900-1901.

by Cyrus and afterwards by Cambyses in his turn.' Again he says (III, 67), with reference to the death of the usurper Smerdis, that 'all the peoples of Asia felt regret, except the Persians themselves.' Although it would be a forced interpretation of these passages to construe them as including India proper among the subject nations of the Persian Empire¹, it seems clear, nevertheless, that Darius, when he assumed the sovereignty in 522 B.C., had, as an Achæmenian, an authentic claim to the realms immediately bordering upon India, if not to that land itself.

For the reign of Darius (522-486 B.C.) we have documentary evidence of the highest value in the inscriptions executed by that monarch's command and containing his own statements. From these inscriptions, especially when they are compared one with another, we can trace the general outline of the Persian dominion in Northern and North-western India in the time of Darius, and we can even infer that he annexed the valley of the Indus early in his reign, a conclusion which is confirmed by the testimony of various passages in Herodotus. The three records in stone which require special consideration in this connexion are the following²:

1. The famous Bahistân Rock Inscription (I, 16-17; 2, 7-8; 3, 54-76), which is presumably to be assigned to a period between the years 520 and 518 B.C., with the exception of the fifth column, which was added later.

2. The second of the two Old Persian block tablets sunk in the wall of the Platform at Persepolis (Dar. Pers. e. 15-18). It was probably carved between 518 and 515 B.C.

3. The upper of the two inscriptions chiselled around the Tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustam (NR. a. 23-26), which must have been incised some time after 515 B.C.³

¹ Equally doubtful would be the attempt to connect the name of Cambyses (O. P. Ka(m)būjiya) with the frontier people of Kamboja, though consult the references given by A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. 21, Stuttgart, 1909; and idem, *Indogermanisches*, in *Recueil de Travaux égypt. et assyr.* 31, 66.

² A mutilated clay tablet, Dar. Sus. e, exhibits the remains of a list of provinces, which seems, however, to have been the same as that which is found in NR. a.

³ The dates assigned to these three inscriptions by different scholars vary somewhat, especially in regard to the record on the Bahistân Rock, although they are included approximately within the limits given. In respect to dating the Bahistân edict, much depends upon the interpretation of the O.P. phrase *hamahyāyā(h) tharda(h)*; for if, following Weissbach, we take it to mean 'in one and the same year,' all the events chronicled must have taken place within about a year after Darius succeeded to the throne, whereas otherwise they may be regarded as extending over two or three or even more years. See F. H. Weissbach, *Zur Neubabylon. u. achämenid. Chronologie*, in *Z.D.M.G.* LXII, 640-641; idem, *Keilinschr. d. Achämeniden*, pp. lxix-lxxiii, Leipzig, 1911; idem, *Zum bab. Kalender*, in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 285-290 (with

The Bahistān Inscription itself (1, 13-17) does not include India in the list of the twenty-three provinces which 'came to Darius,' as the Old Persian text says, or 'obeyed him,' as the Babylonian version expresses it¹. The inference to be drawn, therefore, is that the Indus region did not form a part of the empire of Darius at the time when the great rock record was made, though it was incorporated shortly afterwards, as is shown by the two other inscriptions in question. Both of these latter (Dar. Pers. e. 17-18, and NR. a. 25) expressly mention *Hi(n)du*, that is, the Punjab territory, as a part of the realm. The Northern Indian domain must therefore have been annexed sometime between the promulgation of the Bahistān edict and the completion of the two records just cited. The present tendency of scholarly opinion is to assign the Indus conquest to about the year 518 B.C.²

In addition to the evidence of the inscriptions, the fact that a portion of Northern India was incorporated into the Achaemenian Empire under Darius is further attested by the witness of Herodotus, who, in giving a list of the twenty satrapies or governments that Darius established, expressly states that the Indian realm was the 'twentieth division' (Hdt. III, 94, cf. III, 89). Some inference regarding its wealth and extent may furthermore be gathered from the tribute which it paid into the Persian treasury. Herodotus is our authority on this point, when he explicitly narrates (III, 94): 'The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest—[the sum of] three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.' This immense tribute was equivalent to over a million pounds sterling, and the levy formed about one-third of the total amount imposed upon the Asiatic provinces³. All this implies the richness of Persia's acquisition in annexing the northern territory of Hindustān⁴; and it may also be brought into

Table), Leipzig, 1909; refer also to King and Thompson, *Inscr. Behistūn*, pp. xli-xliii; Prášek, *Gesch. d. Med. u. Pers.* II, 37-38; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pp. 17-33, 106-107; cf. also Justi, *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* II, 430.

¹ Cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 11, n. 6a.

² See Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pp. 106-107 (with references); Max Kiessling, *Zur Geschichte...des Darius*, pp. 56, 57, 60; Prášek, *Gesch. d. Med. u. Perser*, II, 37, n. 5.

³ See V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 37-38, n. 1; and cf. also F. H. Weissbach, *Zu Herodots persischer Steuerliste*, in *Philologus*, 71 (N. F. 25), 479-490; idem, *Keilinschr. d. Achämeniden*, pp. lxxiv-lxxv.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 38, is of the opinion of those who hold that, owing to the changes in the courses of the rivers since ancient times, 'vast tracts in Sind and the Panjāb, now desolate, were then rich and prosperous.'

connexion with the curious story of the gold-digging ants in this region, which Herodotus tells directly afterwards (III, 102-105).

There is likewise another passage in Herodotus (IV, 44) which affords further proof, both of the Persian annexation or control of the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea, including therefore the Punjab and Sind, as well as of the possibility at that time of navigating by sea from the Indus to Persia. Sometime about 517 B.C., Darius despatched a naval expedition under Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria, to explore the Indus. The squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhāra country, somewhere near the upper course of the Indus, the name of the city being Kaspatyros (Hdt. IV, 44, cf. III, 102) or, more accurately, Kaspapyros (Hecataeus, *Fragm.* 179). The exact location of this place is still a matter of discussion, but the town may have been situated near the lower end of the Cophēn (now Kābul) River before it joins the Indus¹. The fleet, it is recorded, succeeded in making its way to the Indian Ocean and ultimately reached Egypt, two and one-half years from the time when the voyage began. From the statement of Herodotus (IV, 44) it would appear that this achievement was accomplished prior to the Indian conquest, for he says that 'after (μετά) they had sailed around, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea' [i.e. the Indian Ocean]; but it seems much more likely that Darius must previously have won by force of arms a firm hold over the territory traversed from the headwaters of the Indus to the ocean, in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition². This conclusion appears still more convincing when we consider the difficulties which Alexander encountered in his similar

¹ Sir M. A. Stein suggests Jahāngira, an ancient site on the left bank of the Kābul River, some six miles above the point where it flows into the Indus at Attock (see Stein, *Memoir on the Anc. Geogr. of Kāśmīr*, pp. 11-13, Calcutta, 1899, reprinted from *J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. LXVIII, pt. 1, extra No. 2, 1899). Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 178-180, 242, and n. 8, 246, n. 3, favours as the location an ancient town known in Sanskrit as Pushkalāvati. Compare also Prāšek, *Gesch. d. Med. u. Perser*, II, 38; and V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. India*, 3rd ed., pp. 37-38, n. 1. Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, pp. 26, 253, seem inclined to revive the old idea of associating the name with Kashmīr, cf. H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 136-137, London, 1841.

² The early Greek geographer Hecataeus, who flourished in the reign of Darius, seems to have possessed considerable information regarding the Indus valley, which may have come to him from Scylax himself. Cf. *Fragments* 174-179, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, I, 12, Paris, 1841, especially *Fragm.* 175, where Hecataeus says that a tribe called the Opiai 'dwell by the Indus River, and there there is a royal fort. Thus far the Opiai extend, and beyond there is a desert as far as the Indians.' If 'royal fort' means a fort of the Great King, as is likely, we have evidence here for the presence of a Persian frontier garrison on the Indus.

undertaking of voyaging down the Indus to the sea, two centuries later, even after having first subdued most of the tribes of the Upper Punjab before starting on the voyage¹.

The dominion of Persian authority under Darius, therefore, as is clear from the Greek sources in connexion with the Inscriptions, comprised the realm from the embouchment of the Indus to its uppermost tributaries on the north and west. Regarding the Indians towards the south, we have the express statement of Herodotus (III, 101) to the effect that 'these were never subject to King Darius.' Herodotus also evidently considers the sandy wastes in portions of the present Sind and Rājputāna, to the east of the Indus, as the frontier in that direction; for he says (III, 98) that 'the part of the Indian territory towards the rising sun is sand,' and he adds immediately afterwards that 'the eastern part of India is a desert on account of the sand.' How far eastward the Persian dominion may have extended in the Panjab cannot be exactly determined; but it is significant that Herodotus never refers to the Ganges valley², and not one of our sources makes any mention of the famous Indian kingdom of Magadha, which was coming into prominence under the Buddhist rulers Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru during the reign of Darius and simultaneously with the Persian conquests³. On the whole, so far as the extent of the Persian control is concerned, no better summary need be given than the cautious expression of Vincent Smith, when he says: 'Although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy [under Darius] cannot be determined, we know that it was distinct from Arīa (Herāt), Arachosia (Kandahār), and Gandaria (North-western Panjāb). It must have comprised, therefore, the course of the Indus from Kālābāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Panjāb east of the Indus⁴.'

At this point it may not be out of place to refer briefly to the information that is afforded by the Inscriptions and by Herodotus regarding the sway exercised by Darius over the peoples of the Indian borderland. Of the twenty-three tributary provinces the names of which appear on the Bahistān Rock (Bh. 1, 14-17) and are repeated with some slight variations in the Platform and the Tomb Inscriptions (Dar. Pers. e. 10-18; NR. a. 22-30), three pro-

¹ See Chapter xv, pp. 374 ff.; cf. V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. India*, 3rd ed., pp. 88-104.

² He says, for instance (iv, 40) that 'from India onward the country to the east is desert, and no one can tell what it is like.'

³ On this point see V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. India*, 3rd ed., p. 37.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

vinces, namely Bākhtrī (Bactria), Haraiva (Herāt), and Z(a)ra(n)ka (Drangīāna, or a portion of Seistān) as noted above (pp. 327–8), form a part of the present Afghānistān lying more remote from the Indian frontier. The five that are directly connected with the region of the Indus itself are, as partly indicated earlier in the chapter (*ibid.*), Ga(n)dāra (the region of the Kābul valley as far as Peshāwar)¹, Thatagu (either the Ghilzai territory to the south-west of Ghazni or the Hazāra country further to the west and north-west), Hara(h)uvati (the district about Kandahār in the broadest sense), Saka, and Maka². The term Saka may possibly allude to Sakastāna (Seistān) and the dwellers around the region of the Hāmūn Lake³; but the distinction made in the Tomb Inscription of Darius (NR. a. 25–26) between the Sakā Haumavargā, answering to the Amyrgioi Sakai of Herodotus (VII, 64), and the Sakā Tigrakhaudā, ‘wearing pointed caps,’ an attribute corresponding to the term Orthokorybantioi of Herodotus (III, 92), may indicate a special division of the Çakas, or Scythians, living between the extreme northern sources of the Indus and the headwaters of the Oxus⁴. The district Maka is believed to be identified with Makrān, once occupied by the Mykans of Herodotus (III, 93; VII, 68) and now a part of Baluchistān⁵.

Herodotus (III, 91–93) mentions in his list of peoples that were subject to Darius—corresponding in a general way to the satrapies of the empire—four or five more which may be identified as having occupied districts in or near the present Afghānistān, in some cases adjoining the Indian frontier. The Sattagydoi and Gandarioi (cf. OP. Thatagu and Ga(n)dāra), for example, have the

¹ For Greek references to Gandāra consult Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII, 696–701, Stuttgart, 1912.

² The slight variations in the lists of the three inscriptions, as regarding these provinces, are as follows: (1) Bh. 1, 16–17, Ga(n)dāra, Saka, Ōtaguš, Hara(h)uvatiš, Maka; (2) Dar. Pers. e. 17–18, Ōtaguš, Hara(h)uvatiš, Hi(n)duš, Ga(n)dāra, Sakā, Maka; (3) NR. a. 24–26, Hara(h)uvatiš, Ōtaguš, Ga(n)dāra, Hi(n)duš, Sakā Haumavargā, Sakā Tigraxaudā.

³ For such a view see F. W. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 181–216, 460–464; but compare the observations by Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pp. 252–253.

⁴ For a general discussion of the Çaka question (with bibliographical references), see Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 23–24, 30, 36–40 (with cuts), and 252–253, also maps 1 and 2 at the end of the same volume. Consult likewise Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 86, 136, n. 5. It may also be noted that Polyænus, *Strategemata*, VII, 12, refers to an expedition of Darius against the Çakas, apparently north of the region of Bactria, and mentions Amorges or Omarges (i.e. Haumavarga?) as one of the Çaka kings.

⁵ So also Eduard Meyer, *Persia*, in *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., XXI, 202; and Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 28–29; refer likewise to J. J. Modi, *The Country of Mekran, its Past History, in East and West*, May, 1904, pp. 1–12, Bombay.

Dadikai and the Aparytai linked with them in the same enumeration. Of these latter tribes, the Dadikai may be identified with the Dards of the Upper Indus valley, somewhere between the Chitrāl district and Kashmīr; and the Aparytai are to be connected with the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Hindu Kush, north of Kābul¹. The Kaspioi, who, according to Herodotus (III, 93, cf. also VII, 67, 86) constituted together with the Sakai the fifteenth division of the empire (and who are to be distinguished from the Kaspioi of the eleventh division (III, 92), by the Caspian Sea), must likewise have been an easterly people, and they are perhaps to be located in the wild tract of Kāfiristān, to the north of the Kābul River². The Thamanaioi, whom Herodotus (III, 93, 117) mentions as forming a part of the fourteenth division of the tributary nations, occupied a section of Afghānistān not easy to define precisely, but presumably in the western or west-central region, as noted above (p. 328, n. 2). The territory of Paktyike in the thirteenth division (Hdt. III, 93; cf. III, 102; IV, 44) and its people, the Paktyes (Hdt. VII, 67), are to be located within the borders of the land now called Afghānistān; but whether the name is to be regarded as a tribal designation of the Afghāns in general, and as surviving in the term Pakhtu or Pashtu applied to their language, is extremely doubtful³.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, it may be noted that India appears as one of the limits of the Persian Empire under Darius in the apocryphal Greek version of the Book of Ezra known as I Esdras. The passage (III, 1-2) runs as follows: 'Now King Darius made a great feast unto all his subjects, and unto all that were born in his house, and unto all the princes of Media and of Persia, and to all the satraps and captains and governors that were under him, from India unto Ethiopia, in the hundred twenty and seven provinces⁴.' Inasmuch, however, as the apologue of the Three Pages, in which this reference is embodied, seems to be subsequent to the age of Alexander, we must regard the passage as merely a general tradition concerning

¹ Cf. Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 175; Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* p. 31.

² So Marquart, *op. cit.* II, 140-142; but consult Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* p. 253. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, p. 191, n. 1, suggests reading *Káριστοι* (cf. Capisa, p. 332, above) for *Kάσπιοι*.

³ Consult Marquart, *op. cit.* II, 171-180; Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 26-27; Ed. Meyer, *Persia*, in *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., XXI, 203; Dames, *Afghānistān*, in *Encyclop. of Islam*, I, 149-150.

⁴ Cf. also the paraphrase in Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XI, 3, 2 (33), and the passages from Esther cited below, p. 340, n. 3.

the extent of the Achaemenian Empire without insisting upon the chronological allusion to Darius I¹.

For the reign of Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) the continuance of the Persian domination in Northern India is proved by the presence of an Indian contingent, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, among the troops from subject nations drawn upon by that monarch to augment the vast army of Asiatics which he marshalled to invade Greece. Herodotus (VII, 65) describes the equipment of the Indian infantry as follows: 'The Indians, clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron; and thus accoutred the Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates.' It is worth remarking, perhaps, that the commander of these forces, as shown by his name, was a Persian. Regarding the Indian cavalry Herodotus (VII, 86) says that they were 'armed with the same equipment as in the case of the infantry, but they brought riding-horses and chariots, the latter being drawn by horses and wild asses².'

It may be observed, moreover, that a number of the tribes who inhabited the Indo-Irānian borderland in the time of Darius (see above, pp. 327-8, 338) were represented in the host of Xerxes as well; namely the Bactrians, Sakai, Ar(e)ioi, Gandarioi, Dadikai, Kaspioi, Sarangai, Paktyes, occupying the Afghān region, and the Mykoi of Baluchistān (Hdt. VII, 64-68). On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that the eastern domain of the Persian Empire was much the same in its extent under Xerxes in 480 B.C. as it had been in the reign of his great father³.

The period following the defeat of the Persian arms under Xerxes by Greece marks the beginning of the decadence of the Achaemenian Empire. For this reason it is easy to understand why there was no forward movement on Persia's part in India, even though the Irānian sway in that territory endured for a century and longer. Among other proofs of this close and continued connexion may be mentioned the fact that Ctesias, who was resident physician at the Persian court about the beginning of the fourth century B.C., could hardly have written his *Indica* without the information he must have received regarding India from

¹ See the note on this passage by S. A. Cook, in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. Charles, I, 29, Oxford, 1913.

² As a matter of curiosity it may be noted that Herodotus (VII, 187) says that an immense number of Indian dogs followed the army of Xerxes in his Grecian invasion.

³ Later Jewish tradition has the same formulaic description for the empire of Xerxes (Ahasuerus) as for that of Darius (cf. p. 339, above); thus in the Book of Esther, I, 1 (cf. also VIII, 9), Xerxes is styled 'Ahasuerus which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.'

envoys sent as tribute-bearers to the Great King or from Persian officials who visited India on state business, as well as from his intercourse with travellers and traders of the two countries¹. If the work of Ctesias on India had been preserved in full, and not merely in the epitome by Photius and in fragmentary citations by other authors, we should be better informed to-day as to Persia's control over Indian territory during the period under consideration².

The fact, however, that this domination prevailed even to the end of the Achaemenian sway in 330 B.C. is furthermore proved by the call which Darius III, the last of the dynasty, was able to issue to Indian troops when making his final stand at Arbela to resist the Greek invasion of Persia by Alexander. According to Arrian (*Anab.* III, 8, 3-6), some of the Indian forces were grouped with their neighbours the Bactrians and with the Sogdians under the command of the satrap of Bactria, whereas those who were called 'mountainous Indians' followed the satrap of Arachosia. The Sakai appeared as independent allies under their leader Mauakes. These frontier troops were supplemented by a small force of elephants 'belonging to the Indians who lived this side of the Indus.'

Emphasis may be laid anew on the fact that the sphere of Persian influence in these early times can hardly have reached beyond the realm of the Indus and its affluents. We may assume, accordingly, that when Alexander reached the river Hyphasis, the ancient Vipāç and modern Beās, and was then forced by his own generals and soldiers to start upon his retreat, he had touched the extreme eastern limits of the Persian domain, over which he had triumphed throughout³. The interesting articles by Dr D.B. Spooner in the *Jour. R.A.S.* for 1915 (pp. 63-89, 405-455), entitled *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History*, make the strongest possible plea for a far wider extension of Persian influence upon India in the early historic period. While scholars are fully agreed to allow for the general and far-reaching theory of Persian influence, they have not found themselves prepared to accept many of the hypotheses put forward in Dr Spooner's two articles, as the criticisms which succeeded their publication show⁴.

¹ In this connexion compare M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Ktesias*, pp. 3-4, London, 1882, noting certain details, for example, in §§ 3-7.

² The extant remains of the *Indica* are to be found in *Ctesiae...Fragmenta*, ed. C. Müller, pp. 79-105 (in his edition of Herodotus, Paris, 1844).

³ For the situation, see Chapter xv, pp. 372-3, and refer to the map.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *J.R.A.S.* 1915, pp. 800-802; Keith, *ibid.* 1916, pp. 138-143; Thomas, *ibid.* pp. 362-366; 'Nimrod,' *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 372-376, 490-498, 597-600.

With the downfall of the Achaemenian rule before the onslaught of the conqueror from Macedon ends the first chapter in the story of the relations between India and Persia. It belongs elsewhere to indicate those which existed under the successors of Alexander, under the Parthian and Sassanian sovereigns, and down through Muhammadan times, until, in the eighteenth century, a Persian invader like Nādir Shāh could carry off the Peacock Throne of the Mughals and deck his crown with the Koh-i-Nūr.

ANCIENT PERSIAN COINS IN INDIA

Whatever were the actual limits of Persian power in India, it is certain that within these limits the money of the Persian kings must have been current. At the same time it is not easy to support the general statement by definite facts. Properly authenticated records of finds are virtually unknown. Nor can over-much reliance be placed on deductions drawn from the occurrence of individual specimens in collections that have been formed in North-western India. Before the construction of the Russian railways in Central Asia the waifs and strays of commerce, like gold and silver coins from Bukhāra and Khorāsān, naturally drifted over the mountain-passes of Afghānistān into the Punjab as the nearest profitable market. Once they had arrived there, however, the dealers into whose hands they came were free to assign to them the *provenance* that seemed most likely to enhance their price, a circumstance that renders it difficult to appraise the value of the scanty evidence available. For reasons that will presently appear, the two precious metals can best be considered separately.

The standard gold coin of Ancient Persia was the daric, which bore upon the obverse a figure of the Great King hastening through his dominions, armed with bow and spear; and upon the reverse an irregular oblong incuse. It weighed about 130 grains (8·42 grammes), and was in all probability first minted by Darius Hystaspes, the monarch who was responsible for adding the valley of the Indus to the empire. From its infancy, therefore, the daric would have ready access to the country beyond the Hindu Kush. At the same time there was an important economic reason which would militate against its extensive circulation in these regions. Gold was abundant there, so abundant that for many centuries its value relatively to silver was extraordinarily low. There are grounds for believing that during the period of

the Persian dominion the ratio was no higher than 1 : 8, as compared with the norm of 1 : 13·3 maintained by the imperial mint. Such darics as made their way thither would thus constitute an artificially inflated currency, and would tend to be exported again on the earliest possible opportunity. There was no temptation to accumulate them, when they could be exchanged elsewhere for silver at so very substantial a profit. The conclusion here suggested is fully borne out by the actual phenomena. Persian gold has never been discovered in any quantity in India; the hoards of 'darics' sometimes said to have been found in the eighteenth century can be shown to have consisted of Gupta coins. Isolated examples have, indeed, been picked up sporadically; the daric reproduced on Pl. I, 1, is from the Cunningham Collection. But it is significant that in no single instance do these bear countermarks or any other indication that could possibly be interpreted as suggestive of a prolonged Indian sojourn.

The corresponding silver coinage consisted of *sigloi* or shekels, twenty of which were equivalent to a daric. They had a maximum weight of 86·45 grains (5·6 grammes), and had the same types as the gold (Pl. I, 2, 3). *Sigloi* are frequently offered for sale by Indian dealers, and it is a reasonable inference that they are fairly often disinterred from the soil of India itself. That is precisely what might be expected from the working of economic law. The relative cheapness of gold would act like a lodestone. Silver coins from the west would flow into the country freely, and would remain in active circulation. At one time confirmation seemed to be provided by the surviving *sigloi*. Many of them—including, it should be added, a very large proportion that are not directly of Indian *provenance*—are distinguished by the presence of peculiar countermarks which were thought to have their closest analogy on the square-shaped pieces of silver that constitute the oldest native coinage of India¹. The punch-marks on the native Indian coins (Pl. I, 4, 5) appear to have been affixed partly by the local authority of the district in which the money was used, but to a much larger extent by the merchants or money-changers through whose hands it passed. The practice was plainly designed to obviate the necessity for repeated weighing. As this advantage would be as pronounced in the case of the *sigloi* as in the case of the indigenous issues, it would not have been surprising to find that they had been subjected to similar treatment. M. Babelon has,

¹ Rapson, *J.R.A.S.* 1895, pp. 865 ff.

however, expressed the view that the punch-marked *sigloi* should, as a rule, be associated with Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. And it must be admitted that the results of the most recent investigation¹ rather tend to bear out his opinion. The resemblance to the Indian punch-marks remains noteworthy, but proof of absolute identity is lacking.

¹ Hill, *J.H.S.* 1919, pp. 125 ff.



PERSIAN, ATHENIAN, AND MACEDONIAN TYPES IN INDIA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A. Aṅguttara Nikāya.
 Abh. Abhandlungen.
 Āçv. Āçvalāyana.
 Air. Wb. Altiranisches Wörterbuch.
 Alt. Leb. Altindisches Leben.
 Āp. or Āpast. Āpastamba.
 A.S.R. Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. (Cunningham.)
 Arch. Sur. Ind. Archaeological Survey of India. (Annual Reports.)
 Arch. Sur. West. Ind. Archaeological Survey of Western India.
 Av. Avesta.
 Bab. Babylonian version.
 Baudh. Baudhāyana.
 Bh. Bahistān inscription.
 B.M. Cat. British Museum Catalogue of Coins.
 Brih. Brihaspati.
 Brihannār. Brihannārāyaṇa.
 Buddh. Ind. Buddhist India.
 Çata. Br. Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
 Cull. V. Cullavagga.
 D. Dīgha Nikāya.
 Dar. Pers. Inscription of Darius at Persepolis.
 Dar. Sus. Inscription of Darius at Susa.
 Dh. Ç. Dharma Çāstra.
 Dh. S. Dharma Sūtra.
 Dhp. Dhammapada.
 Dhp. A. or Dhp. Comm. Commentary on the Dhammapada.
 Die ar. Per. Die arische Periode.
 Dip. Dipavaṃsa.
 Divy. Divyāvadāna.
 El. Elamite version.
 Ep. Ind. Epigraphia Indica.
 E.R.E. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
 F.H.G. Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
 Gaut. Gautama.
 G.G.N. Nachrichten v. d. k. Gesells. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
 G.S. Grihya Sūtra.
 Grund. d. indo-ar. Phil. Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.
 Grund. d. ir. Phil. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.
 Hir. Hiranyakeçin.
 Hist. Num. Historia Numorum.
 Imp. Gaz. Imperial Gazetteer of India.
 Ind. Alt. Indische Alterthumskunde.
 Ind. Ant. Indian Antiquary.
 Ind. Stud. Indische Studien.
 J.A. or Jour. As. Journal Asiatique.
 J.A.O.S. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 J.A.S.B. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 J. Bomb. Br. R.A.S. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 Jāt. Jātaka.
 J.H.S. Journal of Hellenic Studies.
 J.P.T.S. Journal of the Pali Text Society.
 J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 Kali Age. The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.
 Le Z.A. Le Zend Avesta.
 M. Majjhima Nikāya.
 Mārķ. Pur. Mārķaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
 Mbh. Mahābhārata.
 Mhv. Mahāvamsa.
 Mil. Milindapañha.
 Msr. Mahāsammatā-rājāvaliya.
 M.V. or Mah. Mahāvagga.
 N.C. or Num. Chron. Numismatic Chronicle.
 N.H. Naturalis Historia.
 NR. Inscription at Naksh-i-Rustam.
 Num. Zeit. Numismatische Zeitschrift.
 obv. obverse.
 O.P. Old Persian.
 Pāc. Pācittiya.
 Pār. Pāraskara.
 Peta-v. A. Commentary on the Peta-vatthu.
 Proc. Proceedings: A.S.B. Asiatic Society of Bengal; R.I.A. Royal Irish Academy.
 Pss. Psalms.
 P.T.S. Pali Text Society.
 Pur. Purāṇa.
 R. Rājāvaliya.

- Rām. Rāmāyana.
 rev. reverse.
 Rev. Num. Revue Numismatique.
 Rh. D. Rhys Davids.
 Rv. Rīgveda.
 Rvp. Rājavikrama-pravṛittiya.
 S. Saṃyutta Nikāya.
 S.B.E. Sacred Books of the East.
 Sitz. K.P.A. Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss.
 Akad. d. Wissens.
 Sitz. Wien. Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad.
 d. Wissens zu Wien.
 Smp. Samanta-pāsādikā.
 S.N. Sutta Nipāta.
 Sum. or Sum. Vil. Sumaṅgala-vilāsini.
 Thag. or Therag. Theragāthā.
 Thag. A. Commentary on the Theragā-
 thā.
 Thīg. or Therīg. Therīgāthā.
 Thīg. A. Commentary on the Therīgāthā.
 Trans. Transactions: Inter. Or. Cong.
 International Congress of Orientalists;
 R.I.A. Royal Irish Academy.
 Ud. Udāna.
 Vas. Vasishṭha.
 Vd. Vendidad.
 Vin. Vinaya.
 V.O.J. (= W.Z.K.M.) Vienna Oriental
 Journal.
 Vr. Vijaya-rājāvaliya.
 Vrv. Vijayarāja-vamsaya.
 W.Z.K.M. (= V.O.J.) Wiener Zeitschrift
 für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
 Yt. Yasht.
 Ys. Yasna.
 Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mor-
 genländischen Gesellschaft.
 Z.f.N. Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSIAN DOMINIONS IN NORTHERN INDIA DOWN
TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

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NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV

ANCIENT PERSIAN COINS IN INDIA.

On Persian coins generally see B. V. Head, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia* (London, 1877), and E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), pp. i-xx. The intimate connexion between the countermarks on Persian *sigloi* and those upon early Indian coins was suggested by E. J. Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 865 ff. Subsequent observations have tended to disprove this view, since it appears that most of the countermarked *sigloi* were not found in India; see G. F. Hill, J.H.S., 1919, pp. 125 ff. On the comparative value of gold and silver in ancient India see A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1891), p. 5. In some parts of Asia in the thirteenth century the ratio was as low as 1 : 5; see Marco Polo, Book II, Chapters L and LIII.

CHRONOLOGY

The following dates are accepted in this volume. Many of them can only be regarded as approximate, while others are conjectural.

B.C.	
2500	Probable date of the beginning of Āryan invasions (p. 70).
1400	Boghaz-kōi inscriptions of kings of the Mitāni (pp. 72-3, 110-1).
1200—1000	Chhandas period of Indian literature: the earliest hymns of the Rigveda (p. 112).
1000—800	Mantra period, sometimes called the earlier Brāhmaṇa period: later hymns of the Rigveda and the Vedic collections—Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda (p. 112). The tradition of the Purāṇas places the war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus in the earlier Brāhmaṇa period, c. 1000 B.C. (p. 307). The Mahābhārata which celebrates this war belongs in its present form to a much later date (pp. 252 ff.).
800—600	(Later) Brāhmaṇa period: the extant Brāhmaṇas (p. 112). The earliest Upanishads are probably not later than 550 or 600 B.C. (pp. 112, 147). It is possible that the story of the Rāmāyaṇa may have its origin in the later Brāhmaṇa period (p. 317).
600—200	Sūtra period (pp. 112, 227).
563—483	Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha (pp. 171-2, 312). According to Charpentier, 478 (477) B.C. appears to be a more probable date for the <i>nirvāṇa</i> of the Buddha (p. 156, n. 1). Among the contemporaries of the Buddha were Prasenajit (Pasenadi), king of Kosala (pp. 180, 309), Bimbisāra (Çreṇika) and Ajātaśatru (Ajātasattu, Kūṇika), kings of Magadha (pp. 183-4, 311), Pradyota (Pājota), king of Avanti (pp. 185, 310-1), and Udayana (Udena), king of Vatsa (Vamśa) (pp. 187, 308, 310).
558—530	Cyrus, king of Persia. Conquered Bactria and certain countries in the Kābul valley and N.W. India including Kāpiça and Gandhāra (pp. 329-33).
543—491	Bimbisāra (Çreṇika), king of Magadha (pp. 157, 183, 311-2). Conquered Āṅga c. 500 B.C. (pp. 311, 315).
540—468	Vardhamāna Nātaputra, Mahāvīra (pp. 156, 163). Traditional date 600-528 B.C. (p. 155). Pārçva, the predecessor of Mahāvīra as <i>tīrthakara</i> , is said to have died 250 years before him (p. 153). For the contemporaries of Mahāvīra and Buddha <i>v. sup.</i>
522—486	Darius I, king of Persia. The Greek geographer Hecataeus lived in his reign (pp. 336, n. 2, 394). Naval expedition of Scylax c. 517 B.C.; conquest of 'India' = the country of the Indus c. 518 B.C. (pp. 335-6).
491—459	Ajātaśatru (Kūṇika), king of Magadha (pp. 157, 311-2). Probably added Kāçī, Kosala, and Videha to the dominions of Magadha (p. 315).
486—465	Xerxes, king of Persia. The continuance of Persian domination in Northern India during his reign proved by statements of Herodotus (p. 340).

B.C.

483 B.C.—38 A.D. Kings of Ceylon.

Vijaya, the conqueror of the island, 483–445 B.C. (p. 606); Paṇḍu Vāsudeva 444–414 B.C.; Abhaya 414–394 B.C.; Paṇḍukābhaya 377–307 B.C. (p. 607); Muṭasiva 307–247 B.C.; Devānampīya Tissa 247–207 B.C.; Uttiya 207–197 B.C.; Mahāsiva 197–187 B.C.; Sūra Tissa 187–177 B.C.; Sena and Guttaka 177–155 B.C.; Asela 155–145 B.C.; Ēlāra 145–101 B.C. (p. 608); Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī 101–77 B.C.; Saddhā-Tissa 77–59 B.C. (p. 609); Thūlathana 59 B.C.; Lañja Tissa 59–50 B.C.; Khallātana 50–44 B.C.; Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya 44, 29–17 B.C.; Mahāchūli Mahātissa 17–3 B.C.; Choranāga 3 B.C.—9 A.D.; Kuḍā Tissa 9–12 A.D. (p. 610); Kuṭakappa Tissa 16–38 A.D. (p. 611).

415–397 Ctesias, the Greek physician, at the court of Artaxerxes Mnēmōn, king of Persia (p. 397).

336–323 Alexander the Great, king of Macedon.

Conquest of Persia 330 B.C.: a statement of Arrian shows that Persian dominion in India continued until the end of the Achaemenian dynasty (p. 341).

Invasion of India at the end of 327 or the beginning of 326 B.C. (p. 354).

Retreat from the Beās, July 326 B.C. (p. 373).

Leaves India 325 B.C. (p. 380).

Death 323 B.C. (p. 386).

321–184 The Maurya Dynasty (pp. 471, 512).

Chandragupta 321–297 B.C. (pp. 471–2).

The Jain authorities give the year of his accession as 313 (312) B.C., a date at which the canon of the Jain scriptures was fixed (p. 482).

Megasthenes at the court of Chandragupta c. 300 B.C. (pp. 433, 472).

Bindusāra or Amitrochates, successor of Chandragupta: his reign variously stated as of 25, 27, or 28 years (pp. 433, 495).

Açoka 274–237 B.C. Accession 274 B.C. at latest; coronation 270 B.C. at latest; conquest of Kālīṅga 262 B.C. at latest; Buddhist council at Pāṭaliputra 253 B.C.?; death 237 or 236 B.C.? (p. 503).

Contemporary Hellenic kings—Antiochus II Theos of Syria 261–246 B.C.; Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247 B.C.; Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon 278–239 B.C.; Magas of Cyrene d. 258 B.C.; Alexander of Epirus 272–258 B.C.? (p. 502).

Contemporary king of Ceylon—Devānampīya Tissa 247–207 B.C. (p. 608).

Successors of Açoka (pp. 511–3).

312–280 Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria (p. 429).

Indian expedition c. 305 B.C. (p. 430).

Treaty of peace with Chandragupta (pp. 431, 472).

250 Approximate date of the establishment of the kingdom of Bactria by Diodotus (p. 435) and of the kingdom of Parthia by Arsaces (p. 439).

246 Conversion of Ceylon by the Buddhist apostle Mahendra (Mahinda), the son (or brother, p. 500, n. 4) of Açoka, in the year of the coronation of king Devānampīya Tissa (p. 608).

220 Approximate date of the establishment of the Andhra power (Çāta-vāhana dynasty, pp. 317–8, 529, 530, n. 1, 599) and of the kingdom of Kālīṅga (Cheta dynasty, pp. 534–5).

Early Andhra kings—Simuka (pp. 318, 529, 599); Kṛishṇa (pp. 529,

B.C.

535, 600) ; Çātakarṇi, contemporary with Pushyamitra, probably conquered Avanti from the Çuṅgas (pp. 530-2), also contemporary with Khāravela, *v. inf.*

King of Kalinga—Khāravela (acc. c. 169 B.C. if the Hāthigumphā inscr. is dated in the Maurya era) (pp. 314-5, 534 f., 602); invaded the dominions of Çātakarṇi (pp. 535-6, 600); defeated kings of Rājagriha and Magadha (pp. 536-7, 600).

206 Indian expedition of Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria, during the reign of Euthydemus, king of Bactria (pp. 441-2).

200—58 Yavana princes of the house of Euthydemus.

Their Indian conquests began in the reign of Euthydemus early in the 2nd century B.C., and were carried out by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, and other princes of his family (Apollodotus I and Menander) (pp. 444 ff., 541, 543).

Their conquests in the upper Kābul valley and in N.W. India were wrested from them by Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides from c. 162 B.C. onwards (p. 554). Restruck coins show the transference of certain kingdoms in these regions from one house to the other (pp. 547, 551-2).

Subsequently the rule of the successors of Euthydemus—the families of Apollodotus I and Menander—was confined to kingdoms which lay to the east of the Jhelum (p. 548). These appear to have been conquered finally and incorporated into the Çaka empire during the reign of Azes I (acc. 58 B.C.) (pp. 554, 572).

To the house of Euthydemus belonged Demetrius (supposed limits of reign c. 190-160 B.C., pp. 444, 447), Apollodotus I, and Menander—all contemporary with Eucratides (pp. 548, 551).

Apollodotus I was deprived of the kingdom of Kāpiça by Eucratides, and was succeeded in the lower Kābul valley by Heliocles (pp. 547-8). The later princes of his family—Apollodotus II, Dionysius, Zoilus, and Apolophanes—ruled over kingdoms in the eastern Punjab (pp. 552-3).

Menander ruled over many kingdoms (p. 551). He was probably the leader of the Yavana incursion into the Midland Country (pp. 544, 551). Menander and Eucratides may perhaps have ruled at different times over Nicaea in the former realm of Alexander's Paurava king between the Jhelum and the Chenāb (pp. 551, 588). In Buddhist literature Menander (Milinda) is known as king of Çākala (Siālkot) in the former realm of Alexander's second Paurava king between the Chenāb and the Rāvi (pp. 549-50). The family of Menander seems to be represented by Agathocleia who may have been his queen, his son Strato I, and his great-grandson Strato II. Numismatic evidence apparently shows that this family was dispossessed finally of the kingdom of Nicaea by Heliocles in the reign of Strato I. Its rule in the eastern Punjab continued until the Çaka conquest in the reign of Azes I (pp. 553-4).

Hippostratus probably belonged to the house of Euthydemus, but his family is uncertain. He was contemporary with Azes I (pp. 554, 572).

184—72 The Çuṅga Dynasty.

The dates depend on the statements of the Purāṇas (p. 518).

B.C.

- Pushyamitra (184–148 B.C.), originally king of Vidiçā and commander-in-chief of the last Maurya emperor, seized the Maurya dominions and reigned at Pāṭaliputra (pp. 517–8).
- Deprived of the kingdom of Çākala by the Yavanas (probably by Menander) (p. 519).
- War between Vidiçā, now governed by his son Agnimitra as viceroy, and Vidarbha (assumed date c. 170 B.C.) (pp. 519, 600).
- Defeat of the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu by his grandson Vasumitra (p. 520).
- Invasion of his capital, Pāṭaliputra, by the Yavanas (probably under Menander) (pp. 544, 551).
- Deprived of the kingdom of Avanti (Ujjayinī) by the Andhra king Çātakaṛṇi (pp. 531–2).
- Later Çuṅga kings:—Agnimitra (p. 520); Vasumitra or Sumitra (p. 521); Odraka, probably contemporary with Bahasatimitra, king of Kauçāmbī (pp. 521, 525); Bhāga or Bhāgavata, contemporary with Antialcidas, the Yavana king of Takshaçilā, c. 90 B.C. according to the Purāṇas (pp. 521–2, 558); Devabhūti (p. 522).
- Feudatories of the Çuṅgas at Bhārhut, Mathurā, Kauçāmbī, and Ahicchatra (pp. 523–6).
- 171—138 Mithradates I, king of Parthia.
- 165 The Yueh-chi defeated by the Huns began their migration westwards (p. 565).
- 162—25 Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides.
- Eucratides deposed Euthydemus from the throne of Bactria c. 175 B.C. (p. 446).
- Conquered the Kābul valley, Ariāna (Arachosia and Aria), and N.W. India before 162 B.C. (pp. 447, 554).
- Evidence of his rule in Kāpiça as successor of Apollodotus I (p. 555), in Takshaçilā (p. 556), and possibly in Nicaea (ibid.).
- Deprived of his conquests in Ariāna by Mithradates I between 162 and 155 B.C., the assumed date of his death (pp. 457, 554).
- Heliocles, probably the son of Eucratides and his successor in both Bactria and India, ended his rule in Bactria c. 135 B.C. (pp. 460–1, 556).
- Evidence of his rule in the upper Kābul valley and in Pushkalāvati (p. 557).
- Extended the conquests of Eucratides—probably to the east of the Jhelum—in the reign of Strato I (p. 553).
- Antialcidas, a member of the house of Eucratides and one of his successors in the Kābul valley (p. 558).
- He may have been the son and immediate successor of Heliocles (pp. 461, 559); on this assumption his accession may be conjecturally dated 120 B.C. (p. 522).
- Evidence of his rule in Takshaçilā (p. 558); in this kingdom he was at one time associated with Lysias, whose family is uncertain (p. 559).
- As king of Takshaçilā he was contemporary with the Çuṅga king of Vidiçā, Bhāga or Bhāgavata (Bhāgabhadra), whose 14th year may be estimated from the Purāṇas as c. 90 B.C. (pp. 521–2, 558).

B.C.

Later princes of this house:—(1) In Pushkalāvati after the reign of Heliocles—Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, and Peucolaus (p. 557); (2) in Takshaçilā after the reign of Antialcidas—Archebius (p. 559); and (3) in the upper Kābul valley after the reign of Antialcidas—Amyntas and Hermaeus (at one time associated with Calliope) (p. 560). The date c. 25 B.C. for the end of the reign of Hermaeus is conjectural: it seems consonant with the view that the upper Kābul valley was conquered in or before the reign of the Pahlava suzerain Spalirises, the brother of Vonones (pp. 561–2, 573–4).

138—128 Phraates II, king of Parthia.

His conflicts with the Scythians (Çakas) in eastern Irān (p. 567).

135 Bactria overwhelmed by the Çaka invasion in the reign of the last Yavana king Heliocles (p. 461).

128—123 Artabanus I, king of Parthia.

The struggle with the Çakas was continued in his reign (p. 567).

126 The Chinese ambassador Chang-kien visited the Yueh-chi who were still to the north of the Oxus. The Yueh-chi expelled the Çakas from Bactria soon afterwards (pp. 459, 566).

123—88 Mithradates II the Great, king of Parthia.

His final triumph over the Çakas (p. 567).

75 B.C.—50 A.D. Period of Çaka and Pahlava supremacy in the Punjab.

Earliest Çaka settlements in the region of the Indus delta (Indo-Scythia or Çaka-dvīpa) (p. 564).

Maues wrested from the Yavanas Pushkalāvati after the reign of Artemidorus, and Takshaçilā after the reign of Archebius. The date, c. 75 B.C., ascribed to these conquests is conjectural: it depends on the view that the assumption by Maues of the title 'King of Kings' must necessarily be later than the reign of Mithradates II (123–88 B.C.) (pp. 558–9, 569–70).

Azes I acc. 58 B.C.—so dated on the hypothesis that he was the actual founder of the Vikrama era (p. 571).

He extended the conquests of Maues to the more easterly kingdoms of the Punjab (pp. 553–4).

Azilises appears to have reigned (1) in association with Azes I, (2) alone, and (3) in association with Azes II (p. 572).

Azes II: his association with the *strategos* Aspavarman proves that he was the immediate predecessor of Gondopharnes (pp. 572, 577).

Gondopharnes, the successor of Azes II as viceroy of Arachosia under the suzerainty of Orthagnes; at one time associated in this office with his brother Guḍa; he appears to have succeeded Orthagnes as suzerain in eastern Irān, and Azes II as suzerain in India (pp. 577–8).

He is known to have reigned from 19 to at least 45 A.D. (p. 576).

In different kingdoms he was associated with (1) his nephew Abdagases who was probably his viceroy in eastern Irān (pp. 578–80); (2) Sapedana and Satavastra who were probably governors of Takshaçilā (ibid.); and (3) the *strategoi* Aspavarman and Sasas (pp. 577, 580–1).

B.C.

Pacores, the successor of Gondopharnes as suzerain in eastern Irān and, nominally at least, in India. In Takshaçilā he was associated with the *strategos* Sasas (pp. 577, 580-1).

His rule is supposed to have come to an end in the upper Kābul valley c. 50 A.D., and in N.W. India soon afterwards (both dates must lie between 45 and 64 A.D.) (pp. 583-4).

Satrap:—(1) at Pushkalāvati—Zeionises (p. 582, n. 1); (2) in the region of Takshaçilā—Liaka Kusūlaka (contemporary with Maues) and his son Patika who appears as great satrap c. 30 B.C. (the supposed date of the Lion Capital of Mathurā) (p. 575); (3) at Mathurā—Hagāmasha and Hagāna (p. 527), Rañjubula (supposed dates—satrap c. 50 B.C., great satrap c. 30 B.C.), Çodāsa (supposed date as satrap c. 30 B.C.) great satrap in 16 B.C. (pp. 575-6).

Strategoi:—(1) Aspavarman, son of Indravarmān (Azēs II and Gondopharnes); (2) Sasas, nephew of Aspavarman (Gondopharnes and Pacores) (pp. 577, 580-1).

58 Initial year of the Vikrama era.

Traditionally ascribed to a king Vikramāditya of Ujjain who is said to have expelled the Çakas from India. The tradition may have some historical foundation; but in any case it seems probable that the supposed founder of the era has been confused with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (380-414 A.D.) who finally crushed the Çaka power in Western India (the Western Satraps) (pp. 532-3). It seems more likely that the era marks the establishment of the Çaka suzerainty by Azēs I (p. 571), and that its use was transmitted to posterity by the Mālavas and other peoples who had once been feudatories of the Çakas (p. 491).

57-38 Orodes I, king of Parthia.

The squared letters which characterise the coin-legends of the later Çaka and Pahlava rulers in India first appear on Parthian coins during his reign (p. 571).

30 Conjectural date of Vonones, Pahlava suzerain of eastern Irān (p. 573). With him were associated, as viceroys of Arachosia, (1) his brother Spalahores, (2) his nephew Spalagadames: these two (father and son) also held this office conjointly, and (3) his brother Spalirises, who at one time held this office conjointly with his son Azēs II (pp. 573-4).

Other suzerains of eastern Irān (in addition to those who ruled also in India, for whom *v. sup.*) were:

Spalirises, the successor of Vonones. The former kingdom of Hermaeus in the upper Kābul valley appears to have been annexed by the Pahlavas in or before his reign (p. 574); Orthagnes, contemporary with Gondopharnes (p. 578); and Sanabares, in Draugiana (Seistān); there is no evidence of his rule in Arachosia (Kandahār) (p. 580).

A.D.

8-11

Vonones I, king of Parthia (p. 573).

50

Approximate date of the extension of the Kushāna power from Bactria to the Paropanisadae (upper Kābul valley) and Arachosia (Kandahār) in the reign of Gondopharnes or Pacores. The Kushāna conqueror was Kujūla Kadphises (pp. 583-4).

A.D.

- 64 The extension of the Kushāṇa power from the upper Kābul valley to N.W. India (Pushkalāvati or W. Gandhāra) had taken place when the Panjtār inscription was set up (year 122=63—4 A.D.). The Kushāṇa king mentioned in the inscription may be either W'ima Kadphises or one of his viceroys—possibly Kara Kadphises whose coins are found in the same region (pp. 582, n. 1, 584).
Inscription of a Kushāṇa king (identified with W'ima Kadphises) reigning at Takshaçilā in the year 136=77—8 A.D. (pp. 581—2).
- 78 Initial year of the Çaka era.
The Çaka era appears to have been so called at a later date when it was best known as the era of the Çakas of Western India (the Western Satraps) who were originally feudatories of the Kushāṇas. It most probably marks the establishment of the Kushāṇa empire by Kanishka (pp. 583, 585).
- 89 The Suē Vihāra inscription of the 11th year of Kanishka proves that the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas extended to the country of the lower Indus at this date (p. 585).